8: Black S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe El

both of graduates and of schools are several times larger than before the war and are still increasing. The educational level is much lower than it was either before the war or in the free West, but it tallies with the Communist conception of superior education which aims at mass production of technicians specialized in one limited field and not instructed in general culture. Here again, these countries have to follow Soviet precedents, and narrow specialization is the method and the aim of education.

The emergence before long of thousands of newly graduated engineers, chemists, and the like, will have a profound effect on the economic and social structure of the area. These young people will be the managerial class of the future. Their lives will be dependent on the industrial trend of the economy of the captive nations. Unlike the new teachers, lawyers, writers, and other intellectuals, who will have to be agents of the Communist political machine, the new technicians will be allowed to serve both their own and national interests without being associated day in and day out with the sinister doings of the police state. Technology, like medicine, is one of the very few fields of creative activity open to non-Communists. When this is taken into consideration, it will be seen that the young men and women who besiege institutes of technology and other technical schools behind the Iron Curtain are very largely those who wish to preserve some independence of spirit. In their own domain, they will be able to dedicate themselves to creating national material wealth without paying more than lip service to the political framework in which they exist. This kind of work, where there is much less political supervision, may possibly come to be considered the closest thing to individual initiative. In contrast to the 'Commissar' group of the new middle class, the new managerial stratum of these societies is, or may become, aware of the superiority of life in the free world and thus be a potential ally of the West. There seems to be, however, a

9: Pool S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe E1

NOTES

000

1. Protokoll des II. Welt Kongresses der Kommunistischen Internationale (Hamburg: 1921), p. 390.

1a. "The Role of Brains in the Total State," Commentary, August 1953, pp. 167-173.

2. Quoted in Reuben H. Markham, Rumania Under the Soviet Yoke (Boston: Meador Publishing Co., 1949), p. 407.

Cf. also the following statement from the Kosice program of the new Czech government, March 27, 1945: "Commissioning and promoting of officers shall not be based on formal rules only; extraordinary faster advancement (or commissioning) of the ablest . . . shall be supported." Za novou lidovou demokratickou armádu (Prague: Svoboda, 1945), pp. 7-11.

*701 *648 661

3. These were originally one. They were separated in Russia so the satellites followed suit. In 1950 Czechoslovakia, in November 1951 Poland, and September 1952 Romania, for example, separated them. Under the Malenkov regime in Russia, however, they were recombined under Beria. The satellites imitated and recombined them (e.g. the Czechs) in September 1953. After Beria was purged in Russia, they too were purged.

3a. But cf. Hans Speur, "Psychological Warfare Reconsidered" in Daniel Lerner and Harold Lasswell, The Policy Sciences (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1951) p. 266.

3b. Cf. Morris Janowitz, Working Paper on the Professional Soldier and Political Power (Mimeographed), Bureau of Government, Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan, July 1953.

4. Spencer Wilkinson, War and Policy: Essays (London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1910), p. 361.

5. Edward Shils and Morris J. Janowitz, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht" in Daniel Lerner, Propaganda — War and Crisis (New York: George W. Stewart, 1951), p. 373.

5a. There is some reason to believe that in Russia itself after the death of Stalin the desired monolithic control was shaken. In the period before the purge of Beria, at least, there was a jockeying for power. Some observers believe that the Russian Army even now retains some potential independent power as against Malenkov and the party.

*

6. Op. cit.

*701 *648 874

7. The emphasis in the period since 1948 on military training was fully foreshadowed in the plans of the Russians as revealed in the Kosice program of the new Czech government in 1945. This announced that the government "shall request from the Red Army professors and instructors for instruction in the Czechoslovak military schools. It shall endeavor to send the largest possible number of the ablest officers to Soviet military schools, up to the highest military institutes and academies." Za novou lidovou demokratickou armádu pp. 7-11.

148 SATELLITE GENERALS

7a. For example, the New York Times of August 4, 1951 reported that Marshal Govorov had started a course in Moscow for satellite staff officers.

8. As a control we collected similar data on general officers in pre-Communist periods in those countries and on general officers in four non-Communist countries. The latter included: one democratic country, Sweden, and one country that has not generally been democratic, Japan; one country, Spain, in which the army, like the satellite armies, came into present form through civil war, though a civil war in which the outcome was an anti-Communist victory; and one country with a brand new but non-Communist army, namely India. The data on these control samples have not been as intensively analyzed as those on the satellites and are not reported here. Cf. Some Comparative Data on Military Elites, Hoover Institute, 1953. (Mimeographed.) The following table reports the number of biographies studied:

TABLE 1
TOTAL BIOGRAPHIES

China	129
Czechoslovakia	167
Hungary	173
India	65
Japan	294
Poland	152
Romania	132
Spain	179
Sweden	62
U.S.S.R.	217
	1570

9. The nature of the armed forces of the countries with which we are concerned led to the overwhelming majority of the general officers studied being army officers.

TABLE 2
SATELLITES

	Army	Navy	Air Force	Police and Security Troops	Combined Service Forces	Total
Czech						
1. 1918-44	85		3	5		93
2. 1945-48	35		2	2		39
3. 1948-	26		2	7		35